## INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

### Birth Customs

162 582 836 848 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 [787] No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 746 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 827 753 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much. Should she hear a hawk (*ádjádá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ová, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*hawedgídjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ová's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pik'igídindidj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hálkaf'pá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:90.1 or 93.1 (Sclenay, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 178. [163]

[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (2), 206).

[3] Hrdlička, (2), 60 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

776 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the
177 sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former
787 apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over
●[844] the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a
[755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai
[787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

## CHAPTER II

## INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

### Infancy

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities. 842

### Birth Customs

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) 844 [515] [278] [854]

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. 856 [854] [302] [386]

### Use of the Cradleboard

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. 854 [302] [438]

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [34] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old." 842 159 439

Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after." [782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful. 847

## Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations. 844

845 A shaman does not attend a normal birth. If a woman appears in danger of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is
756 called. He "listens to the baby, then he sings for the woman and sends the
844 grandmother spirit in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right. If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it." (Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when the patient is a female).

844 Preparation for birth includes assembling soapweed, red rocks and fat or suet for paint, firewood, rocks and water to heat, a tool for cutting the umbilical cord, a waist band or belt for the mother, a cradleboard, and blankets for the baby. The husband or father of the expectant mother usually gathers soapweed and rocks a week or so beforehand. The rocks are heated, cooled, and ground to powder, then mixed with fat or suet, or today, with vaseline or cold cream. In earlier days if a woven Hopi belt were not available, a wide buckskin band was cut. A bed of damp sand and old blankets is prepared over a hole filled with heated rocks which is inside the house if the weather is cool. In former times a post, or two posts about two feet apart, were set in the sleeping area of the house, but this is no longer done.

Position and Assistance in Labor

During the early stage of labor an expectant mother usually goes about her work. As labor advances, she walks about until the pains become hard and close together. Then she sits in whatever position seems easiest. Her relatives or attendants gather, and the woman may rest in a semisupine posture with legs extended and back reclining against a post or a mound of bedding, or she may be supported by someone seated behind her, often her husband or mother. During the hardest pains, in former times, the woman gripped the post or pulled on a strap tied to the post. During a normal delivery, no attempt is made to guide or hurry the baby's arrival, but if labor is prolonged or difficult, during each pain gentle pressure is applied to the woman's abdomen by an attendant sitting behind or kneeling beside her. Today the woman's husband does not do this unless he is experienced or no other help is near. However, Spier (1928, 300) reported that, "The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides."

During labor the expectant mother's body is kept covered, and as one informant explained, "No one looks to see how the baby is coming like the white doctors do. The women don't like that. The woman feels the baby coming and tells the others, but they don't look till the baby is all out."
845 During delivery the woman squats, with her husband holding her up. If a

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

**Rites after Birth**

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 515] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

## Difficulties in Labor

844 Much has been made of the primitive woman's stoicism in childbirth. With this in mind, remarks of a few Havasupai women are quoted:

"Girls are usually scared of having their first baby. They don't think of being proud about it."

"It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times."

"Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little." (This woman has had 12 children.)

"I think it hurts some women more than others. Some of them make a fuss and some don't. I think some have babies pretty easy. I heard of a white woman who had one and cut the cord herself. I guess she wasn't afraid to have it alone."

845 165 Several cases of death incident to childbirth prior to 1930 were described in detail, the causes apparently being hemorrhage or everted uterus. In one case, pregnancy had extended about two months beyond the expected time and the woman died after several days of labor. In 1922 a woman who was badly injured in childbirth ("torn up behind her rectum and her intestines came out, too") happened to be in the Indian camp at Grand Canyon at the time. A physician summoned from Grand Canyon Hospital was able to repair the damage and save the woman's life. Another woman, unattended, [177] died in a similar condition. Apparently these two cases prompted Havasupai women to weigh the advantages of hospital confinement.

845 165 177 Then, about 1927, a young woman died in Supai following childbirth. In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by a white physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital or the omission of traditional birth practices. By the early 1930's a number of women were traveling to hospitals for confinement.

844 177 At present, many births take place in hospitals. In such cases the bathing and face painting are omitted, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest-if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.) 844 177

## Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time. 593 461 855

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit. [854]

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

## Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 603 593 578 604

/102 cont./

756 for if several deaths should follow his ministrations his avenging tribesmen would be sure to start his spirit on its journey to the
●B44 after-world. Women at childbirth are attended by four women, not necessarily medicine-women, although they use medicine songs.

171 793 Except for differences due to local coloring, the Havasupai have the same creation legend and other mythic lore as the Yuma and the Mohave.